

THE
DANGER
OF 3943e18
POPEERY
TO THE
Present Government,
EXAMINED.

To which are annexed,

QUERIES, relative to the same
SUBJECT, by Dr. *BERKLEY*,
Bishop of *Cloyne*.

D U B L I N :

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Essex Street,
MDCCLXI.

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DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Black Street.
MDCCLXII.

T O
HIS EXCELLENCY
G E O R G E,
EARL of *Halifax,*
LORD LIEUTENANT, GENERAL,
and GENERAL GOVERNOR of *IRELAND.*

May it please Your Excellency!

WHEN it was known, that
Royal Wisdom delegated the
Government of this Kingdom to Your
EXCELLENCY; our People here received
the Account with sensible and
unanimous Satisfaction. We considered
it as no small Earnest of His
MAJESTY'S Affection towards this very
loyal Nation, to give them a VICEROY,
who, from His early Youth, made
the Constitution, the Interests, and the
Commerce of these Islands His principal

DEDICATION.

cial Study; as He made the Extension of their Benefits, in and out of Parliament, His principal Care.

The Matter, My LORD, which runs through the following little Tract, hath not been much considered of late. It is, however, a Matter of considerable Importance; and, on that Account, there can be no Need of any Apology for laying it before Your EXCELLENCY. Your great Candour will pronounce in Favour of the Author's good Intention; while Your great Knowledge must secure You from his Error, if he be so unhappy as to argue on that Side.

The Judgment, My LORD, which is here delivered on the DANGER OF POPERY, had hitherto a Prejudice against it, which we must call respectable; while it is entertained by Men, who decide for their Country, on this, as well as every other Point of National Concern. It is, however, our Duty to try even *such a Prejudice*,

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by the Standard of *Truth*, which never opposes public Opinion to public Benefit. *That Standard*, indeed, may be removed out of Sight; but, to find it, we must often beat about for it in the Field of Debate. When our Intentions are honest, on both Sides, the very Controversy will end in the happy Consequence of such a Discovery; in the present Case, particularly, where the Nature of the Question will not admit it to remain long doubtful or problematical.

It was deemed proper, My LORD, to strengthen the following Argument by the Sentiments of Dr. *Berkley*, (late Bishop of *Cloyne*) on the same Subject, as they lye dispersed among his excellent Queries: We could not procure a stronger Sanction to the Judgment we formed; and we indulge the highest Satisfaction in having it confirmed, by one of the ablest, and one of the best Men also, that this Nation ever produced.

DEDICATION.

By such Authority, we are, as it were, led by the Hand, and find that Access to our Superiors, which would, perhaps, be otherwise refused to us. Your EXCELLENCY'S Name at the Head of this Endeavour, is also a Recommendation to Attention. It is one of those Forms, in which Great Men can confer an Obligation, without their knowing it. I am

(My LORD,)

with the profoundest Respect,

Your EXCELLENCY'S

most obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.

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Danger of POPERY

TO THE

Present Government, examined.

ONE who purposes Nothing in an *Examination* of this Nature, but the Good of his Country, need not set out with Misrepresentations, Invectives or Panegyrics: The Trick hath been too often plaid, to impose on any but weak Men; who are never *better gratified*, than when they receive back, from a Writer on public Affairs, the bare Suggestions of their own Minds, whether well or ill-grounded: It cannot impose on Men of Discernment, who must be *gratified in another Manner*, and whose Attention is awake to useful Information, free from the Partialities of Affection, or the Exaggerations of Resentment: Men, in a Word, who have Resolution enough to *vindicate*, and Strength enough to *reject* their own Conceptions of Things, as Deceit may be opposed to *the Truths* they embrace, or better Information to *the Mistakes* they may entertain. To Men of this reasonable Turn we chuse to appeal.

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The *Danger of Popery* to these Islands hath, in former Time, been sounded high; the Causes of which are obvious to any, who dipt ever so little in the History of our *ecclesiastical* Contentions and (it may be said) *irreligious* Disputes. — When *Henry* the Eighth gave *Popery* the first Wound, and his Daughter *Elizabeth* established the present Form of Worship on its Ruins, what generally happens in such a Case, happened in this. The Violence of Parties was screwed up to the highest Pitch, and Party-Rage grew the more clamourous, as it was the more inflamed, in the natural Course of Opposition. It was ecchoed and reverberated with great Art, not only whilst the Leaders found such a Ferment useful to personal Schemes of Power, but even for a long Time after that Intention was gratified. Judgements were formed, and Sentence was pronounced, under the Influence of this Temper. — The *Papists* drew an unrelenting Odium on themselves, as well through the Persecution of *Protestants*, in the Reign of *Q. Mary*, as by Attempts to maintain the Religion then established by Law. *Papal* Authority, as far as it could go, was exerted in that View. *Queen Elizabeth* was excommunicated, and her Subjects were absolved from the Allegiance they owed to her.

These noisy Thunderbolts of the *Vatican*, it is certain, had but little Influence on the Majority of *Papists* themselves; who, to the last, continued faithful to her; and who had led her as peaceably to the Throne, as if the whole Parliament and Council, on the Demise of *Mary*, were composed of the most zealous *Protestants*. They, however, tried every Resource, and strained every Nerve of Policy, to win over the Queen to their Party. When they failed in that View, and the Tables of Proscription were hung up against them in Turn, some among them made a temporary Use of the *Papal* Authority, which, in *Temporals*

parals, they regarded but little in the main: For they still adhered to the Civil Constitution, which they regarded much. Their Conduct in the first Instance, however, took away, in the Sense of their Adversaries, (Protestant and Catholic) all the Merit of their Conduct in the second: And no wonder such a contradictory Measure should meet with a severe Interpretation, and swell the Odium industriously propagated against the whole Party.

In all sudden Revolutions, this is the Case.—Timidity, Despondency, Rage, Resignation, take their *different Turns*, as Tempers are *variously constituted*. In the Case before us, *desperate Men*, not the *Majority*, plunged into *desperate Measures*.—Some, ruined at home; others, galled by Exile; all, hurried and overhated by the *Impatience constitutional to Englishmen*, rushed forward on their own *Destruction*; though in Truth, they intended nothing less than the *Destruction* of their Country: The *Necessity* of their Affairs alone, drove them into a Conduct *irreconcilable with its Honour or Safety*; and Nothing can be more true, than that they did not fall upon the Expedient of *Papal Authority*, 'till they were stripped of the *common Rights of British Subjects*.^(a) For this we have the Testimony of *Cambden*, the Queen's own Historiographer.

The Queen, wise in all her Measures, turned the Edge of the Penal Laws against *these Men only*, without exasperating, much, less punishing, the Numbers, *who were in no Degree* Partakers in the Guilt of their Brethren.—It was her usual Expression, and it was her Merit, that she made the *proper*

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^(a) See all these Facts fully set forth in a most excellent Pamphlet, intitled, *An Appeal to the Lord Primate. Dub.* Ed. 1759, Printed by *Dillon Chamberlaine*.

Discrimination between (b) Papists in Conscience, and Papists in Faction; nor can we be happy in these Kingdoms, 'till the Laws make the SAME DISTINCTION.

We do not mean to *extenuate* or *aggravate* the Guilt of some *Papists* in that Queen's Reign. Without doing either, we may be permitted to observe, that Men once in Possession of an Establishment, and flung down from the Pinnacle of Power, into the keenest of all Miseries, *the Loss of Liberty*, will, on *such a Reverse*, have the most excruciating Feelings. They will, on *such Tryals*, think themselves warranted to *resist* the Authority, that stripped them of all that they held *most dear*, in this World; nay, they will make a *fancied Merit* of *their Resistance*, instead of deriving, *passively*, a *real Merit* from their Sufferings.—Their Fault and their Folly consisted in bending the *Precepts* of Religion to their *Passions*, instead of submitting the *Passions* to the *Precepts*.

This Guilt of some *Papists* of that Time, will appear the more pardonable; as, in Fact, it proceeded from *the Spirit of Liberty itself*, which once animated *their popish Ancestors*; to whom we certainly owe the present *Civil Constitution*, (the best on Earth) and who strengthened it with the *great Charter*, and with *annual Parliaments* also, in despite of all *Papal*, as well as *regal Encroachments*. Their Guilt was *personal to themselves*; and it will appear the less strange, as we find Nations professing *the same common Religion*, often falling into it, and defending it too, upon *much less* plausible Pretences.—Parties, tho' never so much united on the *same Principles of Faith*, will, in *such Convulsions*, often massacre, and at all Times calumniate one another,

(b) See *Remarks on the History of England*, from Mr. Oldcastle. Dub. Ed. printed by G. Faulkner.

ther, without Remorse or Mercy. The Voice of Truth will, in such Conflicts, be silenced in the Up-roar of civil Discord. *Party Justice* will alone be administered, *Party Reasons* will alone be listened to; 'till Falshood shifts the Scene, opening new Interludes of Opposition, new Collisions of Interests, or new Revolutions in Opinion.

Amidst such grinding Evils, the Condition of Mankind is truly lamentable: It is, however, a great Happiness, that Men professing *the same common Faith*, can draw no Advantage to their Cause from *spiritual Calumny*; the readiest, and at the same Time, the most effectual Instrument of Seduction, that Party ever laid Hold on, to render their Adversaries odious. This is one Evil *the more* in the World, which happily our earlier Ancestors never experienced; the most active in its Operations, and the most destructive in its Consequences, the World ever felt! Reserved for these latter Ages, it is the Evil that disgraced and wasted *Europe*, for two hundred Years past, and rendered useless, in a great Degree, all the Lights of Knowledge poured in upon us during that Period.—This Evil has happily lost much of its Force on the Continent; and it is high Time we should shake it off intirely in these Islands, where *all the Purposes*, which Party could draw from it, are long since served; and where it doth infinite Mischief, by affecting, at once, the Wealth, the Industry, the Peace and the Morals of our Inhabitants.—

It is, surely, full Time we should avail ourselves of *one undeniable Truth*, that Religion doth not make Men rebellious, or wicked; but finds them so; and that (a) even the worst is the best Test we can have for the Probity of Men.—This Truth is the

the more important, as the *Reverse* is generally believed, *fatally believed*, by the Bulk of our People; who, being credulous by Nature, in almost every other Case, are doubly so in this; because there is a natural Determination in the human Mind, to believe the worst of any Set of Men, who retain Doctrines that we think offensive to the Deity; an Effect flowing, no doubt, from a good Principle, but the most injurious that can be, when the Principle itself is not under the Controul of good Sense, nor reared on the Foundations of that Religion, which breathes Nothing but Benevolence, and universal Charity.

Let us flatter ourselves (for even this is some Consolation,) let us, I say, flatter ourselves, that the Sense of the credulous Multitude is no longer the Sense of any Number among us, considerable either in their *Legislative*, or *Ministerial Capacity*:—After this long Repose from personal Animosities, after the utter Extinction of all personal Contentions for Power, never again to revive, this surely ought to be the Case.—

Let us make the most of our Conviction, that *Popery* can no longer be *Dangerous* to these Kingdoms on a civil Account; that Men may be Heirs to the Religion, without being Heirs to the incidental Crimes, of their Ancestors; and that *Danger from Papists*, can never possibly return, 'till they can obtain a legal Participation of all Trusts, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastic.—What Ambition might Attempt under such an Indulgence, need not be here considered, as it is an Indulgence never to be expected, and, no doubt, never to be granted.—An Exclusion from any share of Power, Legislative or Executive, is Security enough against THEM, as disaffected to the Ecclesiastical Part of our Constitution: But they ought not to be interdicted all civil Immunities,

munities, ON THAT ACCOUNT ALONE; they may be made useful Subjects to our civil Constitution, like other Dissenters; and, in that Case, they should not be prohibited a durable Property in the Consequences of their Labour and Industry; Things, which, under their present great Discouragements, are actually turned against the public Interest.

All this needs no Proof, in Countries where the Measures of Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberty are so well understood.—The Opposition of a *private*, to a *public* Conscience, is not criminal, *unless the OPPOSERS combine Something in their Idea of OPPOSITION inconsistent with the Safety of the Civil Government.* Without this Combination, civil Punishment on a *spiritual* Account, is a Tyranny.

The *Civil* Principles held out to us by the *Papists* of these Kingdoms, like *those* of their Brethren in *Holland*, are highly favourable to our present political Constitution. It is *no Advantage to the Public*, that the Professors of such Principles should go quite unrewarded: It is a real Disadvantage to it, that they should be *cast off and punished*; as we intend to shew in the Sequel of this Examination.

We shall now animadvert only on the Danger of of their *publicly* professing such salutary Maxims, while *other* Principles of the *most detestable Nature* are supposed to be in Possession of the Heart, working there imperceptibly, 'till Opportunity vents them in *general Ruin*; like Combustibles in the Bowels of the Earth; the Operation of which is never felt 'till the Moment of its destructive Explosion.—*There can be no Mercy for Men of this infernal Stamp*; but there is one Advantage, in this Case of Danger, that cannot be had in the other: For such Men cannot long escape Detection. The Party who abandon, indeed the great Party who must abandon them, by
joining

joining in the established Worship, will expose their Conspiracy in all its Horrors, and warn the Public of its Danger.

It is certain, that Men of very considerable Abilities, have given this Warning long since, by charging this People with maintaining *openly*, and by *Principle*, "that Perjury may be meritorious in *some Cases*; that the immutable Laws of moral Obligation, may be dispensed with in *others*; that no Faith is to be kept with *Protestants*, but while it is unsafe to break it, &c."—How is this Charge supported? Not by the Evidence of *Converts* from Popery, *most certainly*; not by History or Experience. Our human Nature, with all its Corruption, would revolt against *such* Principles, and confine them to a few Miscreants, *if any such could be found*. Men, besides, who make Gospel Religion a *Matter of Conscience*, and renounce the Advantages of *this* Life, in Hope of Retribution in a *better*, would not render Life miserable, and Death tragical, for the Sake of such a Doctrine; the Renunciation of which would be attended with considerable Advantages. The Iniquity and the Folly are absurd: The *Iniquity* too bigg for the *loosest* Morals, that the *beathen World* ever countenanced; and the *Folly* too great for the smallest Degree of common Sense; which proportions *Means* to *Ends*.

Little as we have said on this Subject, it is surely too much.—Let us not wildly or sottishly impose on ourselves; *but confess*, that *Papists* are as *soundly orthodox*, with regard to the Sacredness of Oaths, the Misery of moral Evil, and the Obligation of *public Faith*, as they ought to be; and that no Power on Earth can give them a Dispensation from these Duties. The Confession of all this may be turned to the Advantage of the Public, instead of believing against the Truth, to its great Detriment, or laying the Blame

of

of our Miscarriages on *Popery*, as Lawyers lay it on the *Devil*, in drawing up their Bills of Indictment against Murderers and Parricides.

If the *Case of Popery* be as I have represented it; if every Convert from it, with his *Hand to his Heart*, must confess that I have fairly stated it, notwithstanding all the *Superstition* which such a Convert will charge on his own former Principles; what should hinder, but that the *Papists*, who can give the Public a sound Test of the *Orthodoxy of their civil Faith*, should obtain civil Immunities; or, in other Words, enjoy the Privileges due by Law and Reason to other religious Dissenters?—"They are not intitled to them."—Why?—"Because they secretly profess *temporal Allegiance to another Sovereign*, who claims civil Dominion over all *Christian States*!"—Were this the *Truth*, their abominable *Tergiversation* would intitle them to still severer Laws, than those which render them at present such a dead Weight on the Prosperity of the Nation, thro' their legal Incapacities.—But, if this be not the *Truth*; the Charge is unjust, in those who make it, and unjust in those who believe it, upon a bare Averment, supported by impertinent Facts, and the most unfair Deductions.—Let us examine this Matter.

Let it then be supposed, that another *Hildebrand* started up in our own Days, to press it on the Belief of Mankind, that our Saviour girded *Peter*, one of his Apostles, with a *secular Sword*, but that this Sword should sleep in the Scabbard, for upwards of a thousand Years; that his Successors, in the Fulness of Time, might unsheath it for the Government of this *secular World*, to their own Liking, and for their own Advantage. What Man even interested in the Error would not laugh?—What Man in his Senses would believe such a ridiculous Doctrine?—Men out of their Senses may believe

lieve any Thing; and they must be out of their Senses truly, or they must be worse, who would impose upon us at this Time, that the *odious Doctrine* here referred to, was *ever the Doctrine of the Christian Church*.—Let us, however, grant, *hypothetically*, that some *Enthusiasts* among the *Papists* profess such a Doctrine. Shall this affect those, *who do not*? Shall the Man, who *vows* and *swears* civil Obedience to our *own Sovereign only*, be Subject to all the Incapacities of such a *Non-juring Enthusiast*, as is here supposed?

In Fact, the *Papists* of these Kingdoms, and of every State in *Christendom*, out of *Italy*, renounce *all secular Obedience to the Pope*: And so great a Stranger was the (a) last *Roman Pontiff* to any such Allegiance being due ONLY to himself, that he pressed it on our *English Catholics* to pay it to *our own Protestant Government*.—All this is the Truth of the Matter: A Truth of great Importance, particularly to Men who have any Share in the *legislative or executive Parts of our Government*. It was a Truth well known to the late *King William*; on the Foundation of which, he governed the *Papists* in *Holland and Ireland*; as his Successor, our late glorious Sovereign, governed them in *Lower Saxony*, where the Royal Beneficence was restrained by no penal Laws. He, therefore, who, in the present Time, exposeth such an important Truth to the View of Mankind; not he, who would blindfold them, by advancing the Reverse, deserves well of the Public.

Much hath been said, *weakly and unfairly*, of the peculiar Perverseness of *Irish Papists*, and of their Proneness to Rebellion above all other People: When other Arguments fail, *this* is interposed as a sufficient

(a) See the Explanations of these Matters in the *London Chronicle* of the Months of *May* and *June* (if I forget not) 1761.

ent Reason for cutting them off from the Privileges *Roman Catholicks* enjoy, under the *Protestant Governments* of *Brandenburg*, and *Lower Saxony*.—This Objection *is easy* to those who make it; but it is *highly injurious to the Public*, and, particularly to a People whose Religion enforces *passive Obedience* to a much greater Extent, than *Protestants* would have it carried.

Let us, who mean to *inform*, not to *impose*, allow this Objection *all the Force* it can bear: Far be it from us to attempt turning its Edge, by the *filly* and *dishonest* Artifice of *denying* Facts, too notorious to be controverted, and too important to be concealed. We, therefore, freely grant, that at (a) several Times, since the *English Conquest*, as it is called, the Natives (all *Papists*) have attempted, by direct Violence, to shake off the *English Government*; nor need I inform my Readers, that, during the far greater Part of this Period, the Persecution of the *Papists here* came entirely from the Hands and Hearts of *a Popish Government*.—For near four hundred Years, a more cruel Government never existed on Earth. The Insurrections, therefore, of the *Irish Catholicks*, during *that Period*, is not what ought to be wondered at, but their *Tame-ness* in not entering on Hostilities *much oftener than they have done*. It was not a War of *Nation against Nation*: It was an incessant Hostility against *human Nature itself*, this ill-fated People had to repel; and they might have regained their Liberties, if their own Perverseness and want of Concert, had not interposed. Certain it is, that such an *infatuated Race* deserved *no better Masters*, nor more *humane Executioners of the divine Wrath*, than those they met with.

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(a) See Sir John Davis's Historical Relations throughout.

[The Mention of this Cruelty of a *Popish Government* may seem *impertinent* to the present Question; and it would really *be so*, if the Opposition given by the *Irish*, in *evil Days*, had not been objected to them in *our own better Times*, and interposed as a Justification of the Restraints which their Posterity at this Day, *very undeservedly*, lye under; if there be *any* Merit in their Conduct for seventy Years past, or *any* Allowance to be made for the *Soundness of their political Principles*, relatively to this *Protestant Government*.

In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, there was a Change from the former Tyranny, to equitable Government; but the Change in religious Government, like all other great Changes, produced great Heart-burnings, in *Ireland* particularly; where the Legislature gave it Opposition.—*One Change counterworked the other*; and *that* in Religion, it must be confessed, was reared on the Pillars of Persecution. A Religion, established apparently on the Principles of Liberty, seemed to fear for itself *on those very Principles*. The Establishers, therefore, in the Spirit of Retaliation, punished not only the *Popish Recusant*, but the *Protestant Puritan* also, the more dangerous Enemy in one respect certainly; as *passive Obedience* was *no Part* of his civil Faith, and as *Protestancy itself*, was in its Original established in direct Violation of that Doctrine, in several Countries. The Queen's Lieutenants, Deputies and military Sub-delegates, undertook the righteous Task of *forcing Consciences*; and, in that View, pursued Measures of Punishment, which would be rejected with Horror in *these our own Days*. The Ministers of *James* the First, and those of his Son, *Charles*, acted still worse; and, perhaps, no History of so reduced a Nation, could ever produce more detestable or more complete Instruments of Destruction, than a *Chichester*

chester; a *St. John*, and a *Parsons*; the latter, in particular, is chiefly answerable for the horrid Rebellion in forty one; which brought so great an Odium on the *Irish Catholics*, and rendered them unjust Objects of Ill-will to their *Protestant Brethren* ever since.

What the *Irish* have done, during that wasting War, I do not mean to justify; on the Contrary, were this the Place for it, it could be easily shewn, that during that whole Period, *Infatuation* governed in their Councils, *Distrust* in their Proceedings, and *Inconsistency* thro' their whole Conduct: I only mean to evince, that their Resistance proceeded not from any (a) Disloyalty to the Prince on the Throne; but from the wicked Administration of Men, who betrayed him, and the unfortunate Nation he trusted to their Government. For this, we have the Testimony of the ablest Historians of those Times, nay of *King Charles himself*, who was the *Witness*, and the *Victim* of ministerial Treachery.

Let the Conduct then, of such Governors as I have mentioned, be set in Opposition to those who governed here, since the Accession of the House of Hanover.—Set a Sir *William Parsons* against a *Chesterfield*: View (b) the one labouring to drive the

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whole

(a) Away then with the Anti-christian Spirit, of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and of discrediting the Catholic Religion, as if it would not suffer its Children to be dutiful and loyal Subjects to *Protestant Kings and Princes*: And let what was done, in violation of the Laws and Government (in this Rebellion) be acknowledged, and excused to the King, by the Distempers and Accidents of the Times, and the unjustifiable Proceedings of those who were, unhappily, intrusted with the Administration of Justice and Polity. *Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion*.

(b) See all the Proofs of this in an excellent Work intituled, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion in the Year 1641*. London Ed. 1758.

whole Nation into Rebellion, by repeated Attempts to wrest Estates out of Proprietors Hands (some as old as the *English Conquest*, some *many Ages older*) on the Pretence of *defective Titles*: View him vowing the Destruction of *all the Papists in the Kingdom*, long before they took to Arms for their own Defence: View him neglecting the first Insurrection in *Ulster*, and, at the same Time, by the most cruel Treatment, driving the *English Catholics of Ireland into a Party they hated*, and with whom they kept a *continued State of Hostility, for four hundred Years*: View all this done with the *sole Design* of swelling the Number of Confiscations, and of extirpating a whole loyal People:—View all this, I say, and oppose it to the Conduct of a CHESTERFIELD, on the *other Hand*, governing here, while a wasteful Rebellion raged in the neighbouring Isle; a Rebellion certainly stimulated by *French Councils*, and supported (as was then imagined) by *French Arms*.—What *Papist* hath *he* disturbed, during that Time of Jealousy and Suspicion? Or, rather, what *Papist* had not the *Protection* of the Government, in the fullest Extent, that the peculiar Situation of this People could permit?—Can it then be wondered, that such different Administrations should have the different Effects expected from them.—The one letting loose all human Evils at once, in *Murders and Massacres*; the other, operating the *Peace and Prosperity* of this Country!

No Consequence, in Truth, can be drawn from the Conduct of the *Papists*, in the *turbulent and unsettled Times* I have mentioned, to determine the Measure of Restraint or Immunity, which it may be prudent to deal to their Posterity, in the *Times of quiet and settled Government*.—When they had the greater Part of the Lands and Property of this Kingdom in their Hands; when they were represented in Parliament by a great Majority; *they had a Right*, by the Constitution

Constitution, to stick to the Religion *they found established by Law*, and oppose a Change therein, which, *tho' for the better*, yet *disturbs the Peace of the Times*.—Such a Change rankles the more in the Breasts of a Nation, when the Work is carried into Execution, more by *Authority and Force*, than by *Preaching and Conviction*.—In *such an Instance*, a free People have a *Right to resist by the secular Arm*, what the *secular Arm alone would impose*.—The Case is quite *otherwise*, WHEN THE CHANGE IS ONCE MADE, and *incorporated with the civil Constitution*. In *that Case*, RESISTANCE BECOMES ACTUAL REBELLION, and of the worst Consequence, as it roots Prejudice so very deeply, and gives Room to charge on *Religion itself*, all that its rebellious Sons *may be guilty of*.—The Distinction here made, is laid in the Nature and Reason of Things; it is extremely applicable to our present Purpose; and it were strongly to be wished, that due Attention were given to it by Men in Power. This would be of great Use, instead of arguing, *very unfairly*, from what *Papists* have done formerly, to what they would do *now*, were they restored to the Terms granted them by King *William*; who well understood the *Force* of the *Distinction* here made, and very wisely trusted to it, in his Dealings with this People, through a Reign infinitely more exposed, than the present, to Danger of every Kind; from *France*, especially, and (more particularly still) from the great Army of *Irish* Fugitives, who followed the Fortune of the late King *James*.

The Resistance of *Papists*, in some former Reigns, *was not treasonable*; but *it would be so now*, in the *highest Degree*. The present Constitution, in Church and State, hath long subsisted. It is *inlaid* in the Minds, and *engraved* in the Hearts of the People. Such a Constitution can never be overturned but by Force, in Defiance of *all Laws and Gospel*;

Gospel; nor is it any great Concession to the Honesty of *Papists*, to allow, that they dread the *Terrors of both*, tho' we liberally grant that their *Fear*, in the *first* Instance, might relax in Course of Time, without their *Fear*, in the *second*, to which Time sets no Bounds, relatively to civil Duty. It is not granting too much in their Favour, to suppose that Men *so long Sufferers for Religion*, will not undo *all their own Merit*, by plunging into Measures which *that Religion forbids, under the severest Penalties*. To fall into such a Guilt, by *open Violence or secret Treachery, Religion itself must lose its Force among them*.—When *that Day comes*, I mean when Religion loses this Force, we may *boldly* answer for them; that they will chuse the *more safe Alternative*; that of joining in the established Worship: *For Hypocrisy costs Nothing, though Rebellion doth a great deal*.

In Arguments of this Kind, if we beg *ever so little*, tho' *on the most probable Side*; little, I am afraid, *will be granted* to us. However this may be; sticking to *Facts and Truth* is the best Expedient we can chuse, for gaining Access to the Persons for whom this Examination is intended, and to whose Judgement we pay *the most respectable Deference*. It is *no begging of the Question*, but a Fact, to advance (before such Men) that our *present Papists* revere the *present Government*, and that to this, and *this alone*, they owe Allegiance:—It is not *begging a Question* to advance, that *they are bound, by their religious Principle*, to pay this Government *all active Obedience*. It is a Truth, *not to be controverted*, that this People have, for very near sixty Years past, *lost the Benefit* of the Peace of LIMERICK, which, though long guarrantied by foreign Powers, was, however, sacred to King *William*, during his Life, and as *sacred to them* as the Peace of WEST-PHALIA was to the *German Protestants*:—It is a *Fact*, that Permanency of Tenure, stable Property, and

and even durable Security, in Land, or Money, is *forbid*, by *Law*, to this People:—It is a *certain Truth*, that the *Protestant Interest* suffers by an over-rigorous Restraint on the Hands of Men; *thus affected*, and whose Exclusion from all Places of Trust and Profit, is surely, Punishment enough for *resisting the established Worship*; all the Punishment that Wisdom ought, and all that King WILLIAM *did* impose on them:—It is *indubitably true*, that this People are *extremely grateful* for the present Toleration, to which, by *Law* they are *no way intitled*:—It is a *Fact also*, that private Distress, of great Circulation, occasions *public Indigence*; and that our *Papists* require Nothing of our Legislature, but the *Power* of exerting their Zeal in the public Service, and of *co-operating with us*, in those honest Means, by which alone Nations must flourish.

In the Nature of Things, there is but *one* effectual Method for rendering *Dissenters* useful to the Public: *That of Encouragement*. The *other*, of worrying them by *Discouragements*, is never effectual; especially, *when the Compassion of Government leaves them the free Exercise of their Religion*; what indeed is every Thing to Men long inured to Thralldom. This is happily the Case at present. The present Generation of *Papists* are habituated, from their Infancy, to the State they are in: They are not *in that* of their Fathers, who had the most pungent Feelings of their Condition in *Anne's*, different from what it hath been in *William's* Days. Such as obtain Wealth by Commerce (*which knows no Country, but a Land of Encouragement*) retire with their Acquisitions: While others, free from such Inducements, and *numbed by the Habit of suffering*, are wonderfully resigned to their present Condition. Men, therefore, who find themselves but *little aggrieved*, or gladden themselves with Hopes of Reward in *another Life*, for Sufferings in *this*,

this, will obstinately adhere to their religious Principles, *in Despite of all Discouragements*: And, if by the Course of Nature, their Numbers must encrease, (as they have very much, within these thirty Years) it is best they should do so, to the Advantage of the Public, and to the Strengthening of his Majesty's Government:—They can not strengthen *either*, in their *present State*; but they weaken *both*, most certainly, by *legal Interdicts* on their Industry.

Ireland, after a profound Peace of seventy Years, wears still a frightful Countenance. All this is evidently owing to the *Tartar-Life* led by *Papists*; who, instead of improving on a short Tenure, keep their Lands waste, to prevent as much as possible, any Temptation to Leases in Reversion; what *Protestants* alone are qualified to take. Pasturage, a lazy, wasting, and depopulating Sort of Industry, is alone adapted to their Condition: And, *tho'* the Linen Manufacture is open to them in Appearance, yet it is certain, beyond all Controversy, that an expensive Occupation, which requires so great a Number of Hands and much Time and Expence to train them, can never succeed to any considerable Advantage, without some durable Property in Land: If you must give Land to the *Munufacture*, you must give it also to the *Manufacturers*.

Ireland is excluded from some Branches of Commerce, to which she is intitled, by Climate, Soil, and Situation. But our Mother-Country gave her an Equivalent, and an ample one. The *Linen Manufacture* is that Equivalent. Agriculture and the Linen Manufacture are the inseparable *Stamina* of our public Prosperity. They cannot be kept asunder one Moment, but to the public Detriment. Labour is the *Principle* of Life to *both*; and, as this *Principle* is weak, or strong, so will that Prosperity decay

decay or flourish. In Truth, were *both* sufficiently encouraged, in our *three Pasture-Provinces*, for *sixty Years past*, the Wealth of *Ireland* would be *four-fold*, to what it is at present; and this, no Doubt, is *too low* a Calculation. Such a Fund, under proper Regulation, would render *Ireland* the happiest, as it would render *Britain* the most powerful Country in *Europe*. Shall we sacrifice all this, (*the Experience of the past, and the Prospect of the future,*) to the *vain Fears of Popery*; to the *childish Dread of Papists* disarmed by Law, disarmed by Conscience, and disarmed by the Knowledge of their own true and invariable Interests? Or can this *Popery*, can these *Papists* be ever formidable to a Nation severed from the Continent; the remotest in *Europe* from foreign Danger; the safest from domestic Faction; bridled by the Power of *England* and *Scotland* united; invulnerable on all Sides? Can, I say, *Popery* be *actively dangerous* to such a Nation?—It is impossible.—But *causeless Apprehensions*, in the midst of the *profoundest Security*, are not at all impossible; as their producing the Effects of *real Danger* are *far from being impossible also*.

When, in the Beginning of the present Century, Laws were framed here, to *prevent the Growth of Popery*, Attention was drawn so much *that Way alone*, that sufficient Provision was not made against *the Growth of Idleness*; or other Crops of National Evil, the Consequences of it. *The idle Pasture Life of Papists* is the most grievous of those Consequences: To it alone, most of our *natural Advantages* are sacrificed. Through the Neglect of Agriculture, for *sixty Years past*, our People, in the Course of that Period, were frequently exposed to the Miseries of Famine; and the Linen Manufacture (confined to *one Province*,) was *not sufficient* to preserve Multitudes from perishing: But Multitudes it saved also; at the Expence, however, of the
 Drain

Drain of our Species into remote Kingdoms, to purchase their Bread-Corn. Thus it fares with our wise Policy, that what we gain in *one* Channel, runs out in *another*; which might be soon and easily closed up. In Truth; Agriculture is not, properly speaking, neglected, but virtually prohibited here; save only to those, who have *permanent* and *undiscoverable* Interests in Land; for to those who have not, an expensive Undertaking, in Reclaiming and Cultivating Land, would be ruinous; and Pasturage is their proper Occupation. They can have no better Alternative on a Land-Holding, limited in Profit, limited in Time, and loaded with *legal Penalties* in the Course of that Time, *short as it is*.—See here, then, what a Foundation is laid for Agriculture, and the Linen Manufacture, in three fine and extensive provinces; Agriculture which fills Kingdoms with Plenty, with industrious Inhabitants, and with Manufacturers, at the Mercy, in a great Degree, of Men, whose Interest it is to depopulate the Land, and whose hard Fate it is to be under the Necessity of maintaining a *private*, against the *public*, Interest!

Those two Interests should terminate in one Point, let the Rays diverging from them end in ever so many: For they will all tend to the public Good, if the Laws are well administered:—*A Code of Pains and Penalties*, (for with us it is *no less*) against an innoxious People, is a Solecism in Politics: It is so in a *Northren* Country, particularly, where the Inhabitants must thrive by Labour, and on no other Terms: It is so most certainly in a free Country, which can not admit of a political *Hemiplegia*; wherein the *sound* Parts of the Constitution, are undone by what is *inanimate* and rotten.—Where a *public* is opposed to a *private* Interest, Agriculture can never take Place; and Manufactures, which should be grafted *on that Stock*, will produce but little, when grafted *on any other*.—Let us, for once,
admit

admit this Truth, let it be granted (what indeed is no great Concession) that Agriculture and the Linen Manufacture can, *with us*, admit of no Distinction of Parties, without being *partially* carried on, to the Disadvantage of *all* Parties; I mean *all the People*; for political Parties *we have none*, and it is a Happiness peculiar to ourselves, that we *have not*.—PAPISTS can never be a *Party*, nor can they be considered in any other Light at present, then in that of the *inanimate one Side* of the Body Politic, hinted at above; which cloggs the Nation, damps the Spirit, and affects the *very Being*, of the *sound Side*, to which it is annexed.

In this imperfect Review, have we brought the *Danger of Popery* to that only Point, wherein it ought to be considered by the Public as *real*. Real and great as it is, yet the *Remedy* is at Hand: It is cheap also; unimbarraßed by any Complication of untoward Circumstances, at home or abroad. Let *that Remedy* be applied, but applied so as to be the Work of deliberate Wisdom, under the Controul of Prudence, and the Direction of our long Experience: Let us retain the *Papists* of this Kingdom to the public Interest, not by a frozen Resignation, but by active Co-operation; by Industry, and not by frightful Laws, which render even a *monied Property* precarious and fugitive.—Fugitive Property flies for *Security* to every Quarter of the Globe, where Security can be found, as *France* and *wiser Countries* have wofully experienced: And this Evil is the *greater*, as it is in the Number of those which are *unfelt*, from the Slowness of Operation. This fugitive Wealth is ours, while its Possessors remain among us: Their Poverty *will be ours also*.—They may be fostered in *spiritual Error*: Let us reform them to our utmost, by *spiritual Means*, without *active Punishments*, or *negative Inquisitions*. When *spiritual Means* fail, let us leave them to God, who
best

best knows the Matter and Form of Godly Worship. Their *civil Orthodoxy* is enough for all the Purposes of *civil Prosperity*. Their Improvements of Land, (*if they are licensed to improve,*) and their Progress in the *Linen Manufacture*, will be ours; their religious Error, and the Danger attending it, will be *their own*.

All this needs no Proof to those, for whom this little Tract is intended: Such Truths, like the Light of Heaven, fall too directly on their Objects, to require any Recommendation, but what arrives from their own natural Lustre: Attention, however, may be drawn *another Way*; and this Attempt to bring it back to the Subject before us, is both honest and seasonable: The Growth of *Popery* may be *dangerous*, as it undoubtedly is, by the accumulated Chains laid on its Votaries, who can furnish out near half a Million of Men to work for the Public, whenever they are unfettered and encouraged to list in its Service:—It will be easy to interest them in *Agriculture*, of which the *Linen Trade* will be the *Golden Fruit*, and the Improvement of our Wastes, the *precious Ornament*. It will not be difficult to draw them from a lazy pastoral Occupation, which thins the Land of Inhabitants, to those other Occupations by which the “*Skill and Industry of our People will fully correspond with the Bounty of Providence in our Favour.*” All this, I say, needs no Proof to Men, who have Nothing more at Heart, than the Prosperity of their Country; yet, as the Question before us hath not, for a long Time, been a Subject of public Debate, the present Intimation (it is to be hoped) may have its Use; there being Nothing more true, in a *political Sense*, than what a very celebrated Writer observes in a *Moral one*: That * “Mankind do not so much
“ want to be *informed*, as to be *reminded*.”

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To tolerate near a Million of People, to pursue a mere Life of Pasturage, and, what is more, to license them, by Law, to waste and depopulate our Country; will seem strange in Speculation: It will appear more so, when we consider, that near a *Third* of the Island is already reduced to Bogg and Morass, through the want of Industry for eight or nine Centuries, since the first Irruptions of the *Normans* and *Danes*, in the Year 812.—Might not our *Papists* (as was proposed some Years ago) be admitted into some Property in those Wilds, where no Man can be said to have a Property at present? Would not the Reduction of our unprofitable Mountains and large Flats remove their *contagious Air*, people this Island, and render it *one of the finest Countries on the Globe*? Would not such a Stake in the Hands of *Papists*, render their Affection more *secure*, and their Connexion with the public more *indissoluble*? Their Loyalty may be *ensured*, by *Religion*, and by Gratitude also, to the Monarchs who have *so long tolerated their Worship*; but *Connexion cannot be obtained without Property*; and a Property in Lands, which now return no Advantage (but which, by Culture, would adorn and enrich this Country,) *cannot be so hurtful in even Popish Hands, as in their present State*.—In Truth this Species of *political Arithmetic* brings its own Demonstration so glaringly, that the Men, who objected to it, could afford no better Reason for their Dislike, than what Chancellor SOMERS gave for his Opposition to a reasonable Peace with *France*, at the End of the Succession-War, “*He hated the French Nation*.”—Thus do the Men I intend here, hate the *Work*, only because they hate the *Workmen*!—With such Men it would be in vain to reason.

We have (we bless God) Men among us of a more elevated Turn, *who give fair Play to Common-Sense*, and disdain to exchange the Prosperity of
their

their Country, for *groundless Opinion, unprofitable Error, or superstitious Policy*.—Such Men will consider *Diversity* in spiritual Doctrines, as a Consequence of our Liberty; and they will not be ignorant, that the Wisdom of Government consists in Nothing more, than in giving this *disagreeable Diversity* a Ply towards the Repose and Duration of *Liberty itself*.—They will consider, that if the Dissenters among us, can be bound by the *Obligation of an Oath*, the Enthusiasts *may refuse*, and the more Knowing *will give*, a TEST OF SECURITY, to the Civil Government.—They will, by exacting *such a Test*, make a *just Discrimination* between the *sound* and the *rotten Members* of the Party:—They will not punish *both alike*, but pay every one the just Price of his *Virtue or Delinquency*; without *Violence to Conscience*, or *Injury to Recusants*, who must only have themselves to blame.—They will lay no Foundation for a *real Contrariety* of Interests, by making a *real Separation* between *those* of the Public, and *those* of Individuals, who may dissolve in lazy Apathy, by Restraints upon every Industry, but that of a Pastoral Life, *if Industry it can be called*; much less will they hang up Tables of *perpetual Proscription* against *any Set of Men*, who may be easily brought to co-operate with the Public *upon its own Terms*.—They will be far from employing the Strength, the Credulity, and Jealousy of the People, to maintain restless Animosity against Fellow-Subjects, whose *sole Crime may be*, a Tenderness for doctrinal Points, which they may believe acceptable to the Deity, but no Way offensive to Man.—Were all this adverted to, by Men in Power, they would be far from thinking it hurtful to restore the Men here intended, to the Condition in which King *William* left them, so much to his own Glory, and so much to the Happiness of this Country.

We

We expect more from the *present Parliament*, than from any we have had since the first Representation of this Kingdom, by *all its Counties and small Towns*. They not only have more Knowledge than their Predecessors, but more Abilities and Experience, *to render that Knowledge useful*. They have more *Wisdom* also, which is not *the less clear-sighted*, by being the Issue of Pain and of Time. They have more *political Strength* too. The Strength of *Great-Britain* is much greater now, than at any one Period of our Monarchy, since its first Establishment. The *Danger* from *foreign Popery* (what ought chiefly to be our Concern) is all over, if, indeed, it ever was dangerous. The *Danger* from *Domestic Popery* can act *negatively only*, thro' the Hurt it really does, by the licensed Idleness and pastoral Life of its Votaries, by their empoverishing the Lands they hold by transitory Tenure, and by neglecting to improve our Wastes and Wilds, *thro' want of Encouragement*.

From *such a Parliament*, I say, we, with great Confidence, expect the most salutary Ordinances; the proper Improvement of the Security and Repose we have had in the Course of seventy Years without Interruption, and which we enjoy still, while the Continent is wasted and torn by contending standing Armies. The Linen Manufacture is an inexhaustable Fund, and richer than that of *Potosi*: They will, no Doubt, establish it by proper Encouragement in *the three Provinces*, where it has already *but a bare Beginning*.—They will attend to the Necessity of encouraging Agriculture, *by which Countries are peopled with industrious Inhabitants*.—They will see the Advantage of erecting Granaries in every County, as well as Workhouses, for the Reception of Malefactors, who ought to labour *for our native Country*, and not *for foreign Colonies*.—They will consider that penal Laws (which, at the Time they were enacted,

enacted, might have had their Use, in the *Ease of timid Minds*, and the *Gratification* of transient *Resentment*) may be very detrimental in the *Effect*, when the *Cause is removed*: That when the Motives to penal Laws (whatever they be) *no longer subsist*, they ought to give way to other *Maxims of Government*, as Circumstances *vary* in our *varying World*, and especially in such a Desert Country as this, where Trade is cramped, and where Nothing can succeed, *without Labour*, and *security to the Labourer*.— They will, no Doubt, pay *some* Regard to popular Prejudice; but this Regard will be far from concurring in the Violence, or weak Apprehensions, of some *well intentioned Minds*, who would move Heaven and Earth to make our Legislators PARTIES in a Question, where, both in Law and Reason, *they should decide AS JUDGES*. In this Capacity will they sit, and while they do so; the *Rewards and Punishments* of Government will not be transferred from the PROPER OBJECTS; but dispensed so, as to meet the *Service* or the *Guilt*, without regard to odious Sounds, partial Representations, or groundless Suggestions. THE SAFETY AND PROSPERITY OF THIS NATION WILL TO THEM BE THE SUPREME LAW.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X.

THE following Queries (among many others) were written by the late Bishop of Cloyne, in the Year 1735; and are very apposite to the *present Examination*. They have lost no Part of their Weight, but unhappily acquired much Strength, by Time. The Political Writings of that admirable Philosopher and good Man, can not be considered too minutely by Men, who have a Share in the Legislation of their Country.

NUMB. I.

Barkeley (9)

QUERIES by the Bishop of CLOYNE.

WHETHER there be upon Earth any *Christian*, or civilized People, *so beggarly, wretched, and destitute, as the common Irish?*

Whether, nevertheless, there is *any other People*, whose Wants may be *more easily* supplied from *home?*

Whether, if there was a Wall of Brass, a thousand Cubits high, round this Kingdom, our Natives might not, nevertheless, live cleanly and comfortably, *till the Land, and reap the Fruits of it?*

What should hinder us from exerting ourselves, using our Hands and Brains, doing Something or other, Man, Woman and Child, *like the other Inhabitants of God's Earth?*

Be the restraining our Trade well or ill-advised in our Neighbours, with Respect to *their own Interest*; yet, whether it be not plainly *ours*, to accommodate ourselves to it?

Whether, it be not vain to think of persuading *other People* to see *their Interest*, while we continue *blind to our own?*

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Whether

Whether there be any other Nation possessed of so much good Land, and so many able Hands to work it, *which yet is beholden for Bread to foreign Countries?*

Whether it be true, that we import Corn, to the Value of * two hundred thousand Pounds, in some Years?

Whether *national Wants* ought not to be the Rule of Trade? and whether the most *pressing Wants* of the Majority, OUGHT NOT TO BE FIRST CONSIDERED?

Whether it is possible the Country should be well improved, *while our Beef is exported, and our Labourers live upon Potatoes?*

Whether the Quantities of Beef, Butter, Wool, and Leather, *exported* from this Island, can be reckoned the Superfluities of a Country, WHERE THERE ARE SO MANY NATIVES NAKED AND FAMISHED?

Whether she would not be a very vile Matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away *the Necessaries of Life* from her NAKED AND FAMISHED CHILDREN, in Exchange for Pearls to stick in her Hair, and Sweet-meats to please her own Palate?

Whether *hungry Cattle* will not leap over Bounds? And whether most Men are not hungry where expensive Fashions obtain?

† Whether any Art or Manufacture be *so difficult*, as the *making good Laws?*

Whether

* To this Query may be added another, by Way of Corollary: Whether, in the Years 1755, 1756, and 1757, we have not paid two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, for Corn imported into the City of *Dublin* alone?

† To this may be added.—Whether a Conjunction of the *Powers*, without any Concern about a Conjunction of the *Wills* of the State, be the Way to Security?

Whether the *Powers* must not be weak, where the *Wills* are so also?

Whether

Whether the Public is more concerned in any Thing, than the PROCREATION OF GOOD CITIZENS?

Whether it is possible the State should not thrive, whereof the *lower Part* were *industrious*, and the *upper wise*?

Whether, as Industry encreased, our Manufactures, would not flourish; and as these flourished, whether better Returns would not be made from Estates to their Landlords, both within and without the Kingdom?

Whether a Nation might not be considered as a *Family*?

Whether a Scheme for the Welfare of this Kingdom should not take in the WHOLE INHABITANTS? And whether it be not a *vain Attempt*, to project the flourishing of our *Protestant Gentry*, exclusive of the BULK of the Natives?

Whether an Oath, testifying Allegiance to the King, and disclaiming the Pope's Authority IN TEMPORALS, may not be justly required of the *Roman-Catholics*? and whether, in common Prudence or Policy, any Priest should be tolerated, who refuseth to take it?

Whether there is any such Thing as a Body of Inhabitants, in any *Roman-Catholic Country under the Sun*, that profess an *absolute Submission* to the Pope's Orders, in Matters of an indifferent Nature, or, that, in *such Points*, do not think it their Duty to obey the *civil Government*?

Whether, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, Mass was not celebrated, and the Sacraments administred, in divers Dioceses of *Sicily*, notwithstanding the Pope's Interdict?

Whether, in Imitation of the Jesuits of *Paris*, who admit *Protestants* to study in their Colleges, it may not be right for us also to admit *Roman-Catholics*

Whether good Laws be more or less, than the *Union* of the Powers and *Wills* of every Community under Heaven?

lies into our College; without obliging them to attend Chapel-Duties, or Catechisms, or Divinity-Lectures? And whether this would not keep Money in the Kingdom, and prevent the Prejudices of a foreign Education?

Whether a 'Squire, possessed of Land to the Value of a thousand Pounds per Annum, or a Merchant worth twenty thousand Pounds in Cash, would have *most Power* to do *Good or Evil*, on any Emergency? and whether suffering *Roman-Catholics* to purchase *forfeited Lands* would not be good Policy, as tending to unite their Interest with that of the Government?

Whether a Merchant can not more speedily raise a Sum, more easily conceal or *transfer his Effects*, and engage in *any desperate Design*, with more Safety, than a landed Man, *whose Estate is a Pledge for his Behaviour*?

Whether there be any Country in Christendom *more capable* of Improvement, than *Ireland*?

Whether we are not as far *before* other Nations, with Respect to *natural Advantages*, as we are *behind* them, with Respect to *Arts and Industry*?

Whether we do not live in a *most fertile Soil* and *temperate Climate*; and yet, whether our People, in general, do NOT FEEL GREAT WANT AND MISERY?

Whether my Countrymen are not readier at finding *Excuses* than *Remedies*?

Whether there be any People, who have *more Leisure* to cultivate the *Arts of Peace*, and *study the public Weal*?

Whether other Nations, who enjoy any Share of Freedom, and have great Objects in View, be not unavoidably embarrassed and distracted by Factions? But whether we do not divide upon *Trifles*? AND WHETHER OUR PARTIES ARE NOT A BURLESQUE UPON POLITICKS?

Whether

Whether it be not an Advantage, that we are not *embroiled in foreign Affairs*; that we hold not the Balance of *Europe*; that we are protected by *other Fleets and Armies*; that it is the *true Interest* of a powerful People, from whom we are descended, to guard us on all Sides?

Whether the great and general Aim of the Public, should not be, TO EMPLOY THE PEOPLE?

Whether it would not be a poor, and ill-judged Project, to attempt to promote the Good of the Community, by INVADING THE RIGHTS OF ONE PART THEREOF, OR OF ONE PARTICULAR ORDER OF MEN?

Whether there be a more wretched, and at the same Time a more unpitied Case, than for Men to make Precedents, FOR THEIR OWN UNDOING?

Whether, to determine about the Rights and Properties of Men, * *by other Rules than the Law*, be not dangerous?

Whether those Men, who move the *Corner-stones* of the Constitution, may not pull an old House on their own Heads?

Whether there be not two general Methods, whereby Men become Sharers in the National Stock of Wealth or Power; *Industry* and *Inheritance*? and whether it would be wise in a civil Society, to lessen that Share which is allotted to *Merit and Industry*?

Whether there be any Thing perfect under the Sun? And, whether it be not with the World, as with a particular State, and with a State or Body-politic, as with the human Body, which lives and moves under various Indispositions; perfect Health being seldom or never to be found?

Whether,

* We ought not to decide *by the Laws of Liberty* (saith *Montesquieu*) which is only the Government of the Community, what ought to be decided by the Laws concerning Property. — The public Good consists in every ones having that Property, which was given him by the *civil Laws*, invariably preserved. *Spirit of Laws*, Vol. II. B. 26. Cap. 15.

Whether, nevertheless, Men should not, in all Things, aim at *Perfection*? And therefore, whether any wise or good Man *would be against applying Remedies*? But whether it is not natural to wish for a *benevolent Physician*?

Whether the public Happiness be not proposed by the Legislature, and whether such Happiness doth not contain that of the INDIVIDUALS?

Whether the *main Point* be not, *to multiply and employ our People*?

Whether hearty Food and warm Cloathing, would not *enable and encourage the lower Sort to labour*?

Whether, in such a Soil as ours, if there was Industry, *there could be Want*?

Whether the Way to make Men industrious, be NOT TO LET THEM TASTE THE FRUITS OF THEIR INDUSTRY? And whether the labouring Ox should be MUZZLED?

Whether we should not cast about *by all Manner of Means*, to excite Industry, and TO REMOVE WHATEVER HINDERS IT? And whether *every One* should not lend a *helping Hand*?

Whether the Fable of *Hercules* and the *Carter*, ever suited any Nation like this of *Ireland*?

Whether it be not a new Spectacle under the Sun, to behold, in such a Climate and such a Soil, and under such a gentle Government, so many *Roads untrodden, Fields untilled, Houses desolate, and Hands unemployed*?

Whether there is any Country in *Christendom*, either Kingdom or Republic, depending or independent, free or enslaved, *which may not afford us an useful Lesson*?

Whether it is possible for this Country, which hath neither Mines of Gold, nor a free Trade, to support for any Time, *the sending out of Specie*?

Whether any Kingdom in *Europe* be so good a Customer at *Bordeaux*, as *Ireland*?

Whether

Whether *Ireland* can hope to thrive, if the *major Part* of her Patriots *be in the French Interest?*

Whether the Wealth of a Country, will not bear Proportion *to the Skill and Industry of its Inhabitants?*

Whether it is not a great Point, to know *what we would be at?* And whether whole States, as well as private Persons, *do not often fluctuate for Want of this Knowledge?*

Whether *that*, which employs and exerts the Force of a Community, deserves not to be well considered, and well understood?

Whether it be not a sad Circumstance, to live among lazy Beggars? And whether, on the other Hand, it would not be delightful to live in a Country swarming, like *Cbina*, with busy People?

Whose Fault is it, if poor Ireland still continues poor?

NUMB. II.

We think it proper in this Place to subjoin the TEST of Fidelity offered by the Roman Catholics some Years since, to the Government, when Heads of a Bill relative to their Case, was brought into the House of Lords.

*I A. B. do promise and swear to bear true Faith
 " and Allegiance to his Majesty, King George the
 " Second, his Heirs and Successors; and that I will
 " make known all Treasons, traiterous Conspiracies,
 " and Plots, against his Person, Crown or Dignity,
 " if any such shall come to my Knowledge. I also
 " profess, that I detest and abhor from my Heart, as
 " impious, scandalous, and abominable to believe,
 " that it is lawful to murder or destroy any Person
 " or Persons whatsoever, for, or under Pretence of
 " being Heretics; and also that base unchristian
 " Principle, that no Faith is to be kept with Heretics.
 " I further declare that it is no Article of my Faith,
 that*

*that any Person whatsoever has Power to absolve
 me from my Obligation to this Oath, or that the
 Pope hath Power to depose Princes: And therefore
 I do promise and swear, that I will not teach;
 preach, hold, maintain, or abet, any such Doctrines
 or Tenets, and that I will not accept of any Abso-
 lution or Dispensation whatsoever with Regard to
 this Oath, or any Part thereof. And all this I
 promise and swear, upon the Faith of a Christian,
 freely, readily, and willingly, in the plain and
 ordinary Sense of the Words now read unto me,
 without any secret Collusion, Equivocation, Eva-
 sion, or mental Reservation whatsoever. So help
 me God."*

The E N D.



